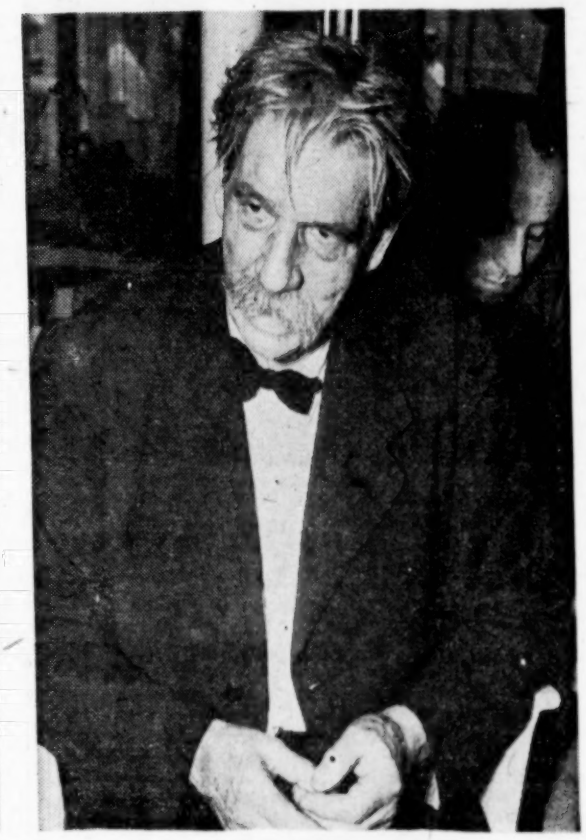
# U.S. press and radio ignore Dr. Schweitzer's atom bomb appeal

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
VOL. 9, No. 29 NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 6, 1957



**Against the Bomb—two to one**
**Pope Pius XII and the missionary surgeon with a "reverence for life," Dr. Albert Schweitzer, pleaded against more nuclear experiments. But Secy. of State Dulles, like any addict, denied that his vice was harmful to health.**

By Elmer Bendiner

FROM A HOSPITAL in Lambarene, French Equatorial Africa, 82-year-old missionary surgeon and 1952 Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr. Albert Schweitzer last week called for world opinion to force an end to the testing of atomic weapons.

The Norwegian government planned to record the message in Africa but Dr. Schweitzer was too weak to read it himself. Instead, his words were read over the Oslo radio by Unnar Jahn, chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. By shortwave and re-broadcast the message was heard in 50 countries, including all of Europe and much of Asia and Africa. Crowds gathered in Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Tokyo to listen to the full text in Japanese. In Kenya, Radio Nairobi broadcast it in Swahili. But in the U.S. the message was almost blacked-out. No radio station carried it. On the day it was delivered it made no more than an item in some newscasts.

**MORSE IS DISTURBED:** A spokesman for the American Broadcasting Co. told a **Daily Worker** reporter who queried the networks on why the message was not carried: "That would mean an announcer would have to read the text for half an hour or more. That would be pretty dull reading."

Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) wired all networks that he was "disturbed" that not one had carried the appeal. It was after Morse's message that ABC and the Columbia Broadcasting Corp. said they would broadcast excerpts or schedule a discussion of the message during the weekend.

In New York the **Times** carried the story on page one with an abridged text. The **Daily Worker** gave it a banner headline. Other papers buried the story or killed it altogether.

Schweitzer referred to official assurances that radioactivity in the air is as yet far below the danger point but said: "This is just evading the problem." The real threat comes, he said, from radioactive drinking water and vegetation which

*(Continued on Page 4)*

**From you to Mr. Dulles**
**A memo on the Bomb—page 4.**

**WAR & PEACE**

# U.S. races to the brink again in Jordan crisis

By Kumar Goshal

ON THE EVENING of April 25 all was calm on board the huge aircraft carrier Forrestal, of the U.S. Sixth Fleet visiting the French Riviera port of Cannes. Thirty French newspapermen, mostly the military experts of major Paris papers, had retired to the officers' staterooms, after grumbling about the spare dinner of ham and eggs and water they had been served on the ship. They had come aboard to witness aerial exercises next day.

They were awakened at 3:30 a.m. by blaring orders over the loudspakers, clanging of machinery. Then came a quick breakfast, a brisk playing of the American and French national anthems, and they were put aboard launches for the shore. Washington had ordered the immediate sailing of the Sixth Fleet to the eastern Mediterranean. Some 150 crewmen were left behind.

**DOCTRINE IN ACTION:** The Sixth Fleet's sailing for the troubled waters of the Middle East was a powerful demonstration of the Eisenhower Doctrine in action—a calculated show of force, as Administration officials privately admitted. Built around the aircraft carriers Forrestal and Lake Champlain, the fleet includes one battleship, two cruisers, 24 destroyers, six amphibious ships, two submarines and several supply transports and tankers. The two aircraft carriers maintain 160-170 planes with "nuclear capabilities." The fleet's air power, the N.Y. **Times said** (4/26), "would provide an overpowering striking force against any ground force within Jordan."

The Eisenhower Doctrine went into effect after several days of frantic jockeying for position within Jordan and signalling from Washington.

At his press conference on April 23, U.S. Secy. of State Dulles bluntly announced: "It is our desire to hold up the hands of King Hussein." The following day the King's loyal Legionnaires forcibly dispersed huge crowds demonstrating against "American imperialism." Hussein then went on the air and accused "international communism and its followers" of creating the crisis in Jordan.

**TERROR AND CRISIS:** "The U.S. took the cue," the **Times** reported (4/28), Secy. Dulles after telephoning President Eisenhower at the Augusta golf course cottage,

*(Continued on Page 8)*

**THUMBS DOWN ON BUREAUCRACY**

# Steel union rank & file revolts against McDonald leadership

By Lawrence Emery

DAVID J. McDONALD, who never got a callous in a steel mill, was back in office for another four years last week as president of the 1,200,000-member steel workers union at $50,000 a year plus an open-end expense account. But he wasn't happy. A rank-and-file revolt led by Donald C. Rarick, 38-year-old worker in the Irvin Works of U.S. Steel near Pittsburgh, brought out a protest vote of nearly 35% of the total cast.

The result stunned the usually-talkative McDonald into silence. He was unavailable for comment after the official tally was announced and was reported laid up with a virus infection. Other top union officials were also out of reach for comment.

The official results gave McDonald 404,172 votes to Rarick's 223,516.

**OTHER RESULTS:** In the only two contests for district directorships, rank-and-file insurgents swept McDonald-backed incumbents out of office. In the McKees-

*(Continued on Page 9)*

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## THE MAIL BAG

### The "criminals"

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Elmer Bendiner on capital punishment is excellent. Progressives, avowed champions of the working class and oppressed peoples, have been prone to a high-nosed attitude towards "criminals." Apparently ignored is the conformity between rate of crime and economic conditions; the fact that the most oppressed peoples are more likely to be forced into crime (meaning, of course, poor people's crime, which is punished); and that these are punished in accord with their oppression.

It has been gratifying to note the new interest being shown by progressives, though of course we must regret that enforced association with criminals is largely responsible. Progressives should never forget that prisons draw their recruits from the womb of the working class.

**Ethel C. Hale.**

### Baltimore meeting May 10

BALTIMORE, MD.

We have recently discovered that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has re-scheduled the hearings in Baltimore for May 7 and 8. We too have re-scheduled our town meeting panel discussion on "Are Congressional Investigations and the Security Program a Safeguard or a Threat to Democracy?" for May 10 at 8 p.m., at the Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church, 2320 Reisterstown Rd. There will be no admission charge.

**A. Robert Kaufman, chairman, Socialist Study Group of Baltimore.**

### Sheet and pillowcase

PORT RICHEY, FLA.

During the Harding administration the K.K.K. was making a drive for members at Baker City, Ore., and they approached me as likely timber and a possible sucker. I objected on the grounds that I did not approve of the Sheet - and - Pillowcase uniform they were wearing. They brushed that aside by declaring "We won't wear the uniform as soon as we are strong enough to take over the government"—and they were certainly trying to do so by force and violence, but they met too much opposition. Another time they tackled me and I offered to blast the hell out of them if they started anything. They were tougher than any communists I ever saw or heard.

**Frank Hartley**

### A question of tactics

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I enclose a copy of my letter to Judge Whaley, in Hawkinsville, Ga.:

"I read with interest about your righteous indignation over the brutal mob-killing of a Negro sawmill worker. However, you stated: 'It was and is the tactics of Russia, where human life is so cheap and human rights nil.' Do you know a single case where a Russian mob murdered a Russian on account of the color of his skin?

"It is odd enough that an American judge should accuse 200 million people of a heinous crime without unobjectionable evidence. It is odder still if the accusation comes from a judge in Dixieland where, as far as I know, the murderers of Negroes are either not 'found' or, if generally known, are acquitted by a white jury. I would be glad to know if any white murderer of a Negro there was ever brought to justice."

**Dr. John H. Beck**

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A neutral diplomat suggested that if an American ambassador was sent to Sofia, he should be a tall and commanding figure. Bulgarians, he said, have a primitive outlook and respect a strong man and would judge the United States by the physical proportions of her representative.

New York **Times**, 4/21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winnner this week: J. Frankel, Bronx, N. Y.

### Norman Thomas' position

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I am quoted as approving a May Day meeting in which a large number of people, Communists and Trotskyists and others, will speak. Your paper adds that I said I would not attend. All I ever approved was conferences in the nature of debate. I would not approve a May Day meeting with the implication that I would observe on equal terms a socialist holiday with Communists either of the Stalinist or Trotskyist school. It is one thing to discuss or debate. It is another to celebrate on united front terms.

Communists of various sorts will have to go much farther in repudiating Leninism before I consider them socialists of a sort with whom I would celebrate May Day. I would speak with these gentlemen, mostly to debate against them, not to celebrate. I am still of the opinion that communism has developed into a form of state capitalism which is not socialism at all.

**Norman Thomas.**

### International socialism

LONDON, ENG.

The International Society for Socialist Studies was founded a year ago at a coloquium in Paris. It consists of individual socialists and its object is to draw together those people in every country who believe in the intrinsic internationalism of socialism, for the purpose of seeking out the most effective way in which international socialism may be achieved.

Already we are in communication with socialists in many different parts of the world, and many European countries have already formed sections of the Society and are carrying out its work.

Our president is Prof. G.D.H. Cole, whose pamphlet "World Socialism Restated" has aroused immense interest and led to a large number of inquiries from all over the world. Many of these inquiries have come from the U. S., and I would like to hear from your readers who are interested and who would be prepared to assist our crusade for greater awareness and understanding of socialism with the formation of an American section of the Society.

I can supply Professor Cole's pamphlet at 25 cents per copy.

**John Papworth, Secretary, 22 Nevern Road, S.W. 5.**

### Bill Pennock

SEATTLE, WASH.

Even a "partial" list of the victims of U. S. Inquisition (**Guardian**, April 15) shouldn't have omitted Bill Pennock. For us who knew him, the manner of his death remains unexplained, but that the Inquisition was his murderer there is no doubt. We loved him and cherish his memory—which lives not only in our hearts but in the best of the social security legislation of this and other states.

**George & Louise**

Vie Nuove

### The original title

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In printing my verses (April 22) you re-titled them, for good and space-limited reasons I know, but "De-Cantos" just does not make as much sense as the original "The Bureaucrats Take A New Lease On Life." If any readers are curious enough to go back with the author's title in mind, I think they will bear me out.

**Eve Merriam**

### Body and mind

CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosed find check for GUARDIAN vitamins. We feel that they do for our bodily health what your wonderful paper does for our mental health.

**M. & S. Goldstein**

### Help the Jenkins family

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A young couple, Grady and Judy Jenkins of New Orleans, are facing trial on charges of violating the Louisiana State Criminal Anarchy Statute and a Louisiana State Subversive Activities Control Law, which was enacted in 1952. [GUARDIAN 4/29].

In April, 1956, the United States Supreme Court in Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. Nelson, 350 U.S. 497, held that federal statutes have pre-empted the field of sedition legislation, and that federal legislation in this field supersedes state legislation and precludes enforcement of state sedition statutes. Since the Nelson decision, at least two state courts, Massachusetts and Kentucky, on the basis of the Nelson decision, have quashed indictments substantially identical to the charges made against the Jenkinses.

The fact that the State of Louisiana proceeded against the defendants in this case in spite of the Nelson decision and the subsequent action of the state courts, has serious consequences, not only in the field of civil liberties but also in the field of civil rights, particularly in the current struggle for desegregation in the South. The decision to press these charges despite the Nelson case indicates a defiance of federal authority designed to strengthen resistance to Federal authority in the desegregation cases. Moreover, the possibility that the Subversive Activities Control Law may be enforced against other organizations which do not meet favor with state governments in addition to the Communist Party is very great. In view of the language of the Act it does not require too much vision to anticipate that such organizations as the NAACP, trade unions and other civic-minded organizations may be next in line for attack under this Act should the state succeed in its prosecution against Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins.

It is all the more alarming because Louisiana has selected as their first victims two people who are least able to bear the financial burden of the extended litigation which will be involved and who, because of an extended campaign of terror, have been successfully isolated from any forces within the community which might ordinarily rally to their support.

The Jenkinses have two young children, of whom the older is slightly over two years. Because of the children, Mrs. Jenkins has been unable to work throughout the period in which Mr. Jenkins was confined to the hospital and has been completely dependent upon her parents for support during this period. Because of poverty and the prolonged illness of Mr. Jenkins they are unable to raise any part of the sum necessary to retain counsel to represent them.

**Dr. Oakley C. Johnson, Provisional Chairman, Defense Committee for Judy & Grady Jenkins, 75 W. 89 St., New York 24, N. Y.**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom one guinea a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $4 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 9, No. 29 — 401 — May 6, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

## NATO & BLOTTO

WE TOLD YOU SO, back in April, 1949. That was when Truman, Acheson & Co. were shaping up the Atlantic Pact, the prototype of today's NATO, SEATO, MEDO (Baghdad Pact) and BLOTTO (our own term for the Eisenhower Doctrine).

We said then that

". . . the primary aim of this new Holy Alliance—like that of Hitler's Anti-Comintern Pact and Churchill's 1919 'quarantine Russia' policy—is to crush democratic movements and to block social and economic reform all over the world . . .

"The Pact is the fruition of U.S. policy since the war's end, of the campaign to turn back the clock in Europe. Its immediate objective, as admitted by such authoritative interpreters as Walter Lippman and the Alsop brothers, is to arm European reaction to enable it to smash the labor and popular movements."

THE PASSWORD was to be "Communist aggression"; you just hollered this and the militia would come on the double to put down your uprising, break your general strike, dissolve parliament, restore the crown or any other little service for the good old status quo. You could be sure you would have no trouble at all convincing Uncle Smith Act that your troubles stemmed from the Kremlin.

Of course Mr. Acheson at the time offered reassurance that it probably wouldn't be as crude as all that—and it hasn't been, quite. Mossadegh was winged and the Shah restored without too much muss. Back home here we showed how efficiently these things could be arranged in the Guatemala matter. And with our approval one of our NATO partners, Britain, walked all over an earlier Doctrine (Monroe's) by rubbing out the elected government of British Guiana.

NOW COMES THIS Jordan business and the things that are happening under the atomic war-heads of our Sixth Fleet—which just chanced to be within hailing distance in the Mediterranean at the time, sunning itself off Cannes.

The Boy King just hollered the magic words and there was Uncle Smith Act to back him up. Down the drain goes whatever chance the people of Jordan had in this decade, having shaken off the British, to get on toward some kind of a better life.

What's next? Well, we aren't in on the planning sessions, but we saw in the **Police Gazette** in the barber shop this past week that Farouk of Egypt may be on his way back, on the magic carpet of the Baghdad Pact. It seems that the Communists were really responsible for Farouk's downfall, got him interested in harems and that sort of stuff, made him an easy mark for Nasser and those fellows. Now at Cannes, he knows what hit him and is preparing a comeback.

Anybody want to lay odds against it?

**THE GUARDIAN**

THE BOOM IS TAPERING OFF

# Warning signs in the American economy

By Tabitha Petran

*(Second of two articles)*

THE ECONOMIC slowdown, now anticipated later this year, is described in the business press as something very like "the pause that refreshes." The near-unanimous view is that "the pause in the boom," as **U. S. News** calls it, will be simply a prelude to a new upsurge of prosperity.

The coming slowdown, in other words, is expected to reflect a readjustment of relative disproportions between supply and demand that have been developing. The assumption is that general overproduction of capital goods is not in sight and that there remain strong forces in the economy which will stimulate a new wave of capital expansion once the readjustment has been made.

Examined realistically, however, the different segments of the economy give little support to this thesis.

**SMALLER SUPPLIES:** The inventory cycle, for example, has significance for the overall picture. Rapid accumulation of inventories, sparked by the spiral of price rises and last summer's steel strike, was an important factor in the 1955-56 boom. In the last two years, inventories rose 10% as compared to a 5% rise in final sales of goods. At the end of 1956 they totalled 88 billion dollars. In 1956's last quarter inventories accumulated at the rate of 5 billion dollars a year. Such a rate cannot be long maintained without building up excessive stocks. Businessmen are now talking about reducing the rate at which they have been accumulating supplies. **U. S. News** (3/1) reported that "business is expecting to work off its surpluses gradually by just laying in smaller supplies." It found no signs of any moves to liquidate inventories.

But suppose business tried to reduce the recent 5 billion dollar rate of inventory accumulation to 2.5 billion for 1957 as a whole. The **Illinois Business Review** (1/57) pointed out that—since the rate had been so high—to get down to the lower annual average would require a decline "all the way to zero by the year's end."

**REVERSAL IS DUE:** An inventory reversal must, it seems clear, come sooner or later. When other areas of the economy are strong, inventory liquidation has a self-adjusting feature. Under such conditions liquidation of inventories might produce a temporary readjustment or short-run recession, as in 1953-54; and once the liquidation had reached a reasonable level, production would begin to rise again in order to refill the inventory bins.

But should the liquidation of inventories coincide with a downturn in business spending for new plant and equipment, resulting from overcapacity, then it could set off or intensify a slide toward a real depression. As the GUARDIAN showed last week, present indications are that business spending will decline later this year. Hence it is more likely that this decline will coincide with the downward phase of the inventory cycle than that it will be partially offset by the upward pull of inventory accumulation.

**MARKETS NEEDED:** A somewhat similar situation exists with the consumer credit cycle. If there is to be another wave of capital expansion, there must be a big increase in consumer markets. For businessmen must not only sell at a profit the goods now pouring off the production lines; they must also find a market expanding sufficiently to make still further investment in plant capacity profitable.

Where can such expanding markets be found? Total consumer purchases of durable goods declined steadily from a top of 37 billion dollars in 1955's third quarter to 33 billion a year later. Most of this decline reflected a drop in auto sales. The auto industry confidently predicted a comeback this year. But in 1957's first three months auto sales were running about 6% below last year; and the industry has again cut back its second quarter production schedules, even though this is the time of year when it usually moves into high gear.

A recovery of auto sales to the boom level of 1955 appears unrealistic. The reasons: (1) the high scrappage rate of old cars which prevailed in recent years is unlikely to continue now that roughly half the cars in use are 1953 models or later; (2) the stock of cars on the road is already huge: 73% of all families now own cars; (3) credit terms could hardly be made easier than they are: 80% of new cars are being sold on credit, usually a loan for two-thirds of the cost, with 36 months to pay.

**INSTALLMENT DEBT:** Sales of other consumer durables remained high throughout 1956. But such purchases, like auto purchases, to an unprecedented degree are financed by debt. In 1955 installment debt rose by 5.5 billion dollars (mainly automobile credit) to a total of 29 billion. This provoked widespread fear that credit was financing a degree of sales which could not be maintained and was thus preparing the way for a slump. This fear proved justified: auto sales slumped sharply. But the economy rode out the slump largely because business spending for new plant and equipment was then soaring to new highs.

In 1956 the increase in installment debt was only 2.5 billion dollars and the use of credit finance consumption was at a rate of only about 2 billions, or roughly a third of what it had been in 1955. In this situation, some see the possibility of a new rise in consumer purchases and another great upsurge of borrowing to finance it. Such forecasts, however, ignore the facts that: (1) consumers are already in hock to the tune of 32 billion dollars in installment debt and another 4 billion on charge accounts; (2) consumer prices have risen steadily as business has passed on increased costs without restraint; (3) real consumer income is unlikely to increase much this year since the expected

Miami Daily News

**PROSPERITY TO ORDER**

rise in wage rates, is likely to be offset by reduced hours of work and some increase in unemployment which will result from the business slowdown.

**THEY'RE WORRIED:** A recently-completed Federal Reserve Board staff study of Consumer Installment Credit holds that such credit has never been the "principal" cause of movements in the business cycle. But fluctuations in consumer credit can contribute to instability. The Reserve study admits that in a business downturn "wholesale liquidation" of people's debts might help send the country into an economic tailspin.

**U. S. News** (12/21/56) reported many bankers and economists fear "some sequence of events such as this: fairly widespread cuts in income, numerous defaults, a more cautious attitude toward debt, a drop in credit sales as a result of that reaction. In this way, it is felt, the buildup in debt could make a future recession worse than those of the recent past."

**HOUSING IS OFF:** Construction of new homes has been one of the strongest mainstays of the economy throughout the post-war period. But new housing starts began to decline two years ago when home construction was running at double or more the rate of family formation. The decline has been steady ever since and new housing starts, on a seasonally adjusted basis, are at their lowest point in eight years. Two chief reasons are given:

- Homebuilders blame lack of adequate mortgage credit. But mortgage terms are tight only in comparison with the exceptionally easy terms of 1954. And on March 29 the government moved to ease credit terms still further in an effort to halt the decline.
- The rate of family formation is also held responsible. But this factor will continue adverse at least for this year.

The government in fact predicts a continued decline in new housing even if the rest of the economy continues to rise.

N.Y. World-Telegram

**Shoppers**

**In sum, key sectors of the economy appear to have reached a state of vulnerability by and large simultaneously. Instead of offsetting each other in any "readjustment," they could go down together. Even if they do not, they hardly appear to contain the forces for a great new wave of capital expansion.**

**"CAUTIOUS CUTBACKS":** This conclusion is underlined by signs now beginning to appear that capacity is outpacing demand and that, as a result, margins are being reduced.

Some degree of overcapacity has long been apparent in such industries as textile, furniture, television sets, home appliances, refrigerators and other consumer durables. Recent production cutbacks in some of these industries suggest that it may be becoming decisive.

More significant is the fact that excess capacity is showing up not only in the paper industry but in such basic industries as aluminum, copper, some chemicals (ammonia and fertilizer materials), and perhaps even steel. The **N.Y. Times** (4/1) reported "a disturbing note . . . layoffs are appearing in key industries." Another **Times** story the same day was headlined: CAUTIOUS CUTBACKS IN OUTPUT ARE ORDER OF DAY IN SOME U.S. INDUSTRIES. It mentioned, among others, shutdowns in copper and "sizeable cutbacks in output of [steel] sheets and strip."

**MORE COMPETITION:** Shortages of some types of finished and fabricated steel still exist, but orders for cold rolled steel (used for autos and other consumer goods) are off sharply. Steel ingot production has been declining recently with production now about 92-93% of capacity. The high rate of steel production in the last months of 1956 may have been caused by the need to make up inventories consumed in the steel strike last summer, rather than to new demand.

With overcapacity has come increased competition and lower profit margins. Business journals today are full of complaints about "the big squeeze on business," the "profit pinch," and so on. Profit rates are lower in many kinds of business. **Business Week** (2/23) said that if the profit pinch "is a sign of overripeness in the postwar boom, it could also be a sign of coming recession, particularly if industry should react—as it used to do in pre-war days—by cutting back investment in plant and equipment."

**THE CONCLUSION:** As the GUARDIAN reported last week, business appears to be planning some cuts in capital outlays later this year. It is necessary to emphasize, however, that even if such cuts are made, capital outlays by business will still be very high. This would rule out any sudden or sharp decline in the economy.

**What is clear is that the underlying factors are working in the direction of a general decline. Within this phase there will be upturns and zigzags. In addition to the continued high level of capital outlays, the increase in government spending, Federal, state and local, will tend to offset some of the decline that appears to be setting in. But the long postwar boom is beginning to taper off.**

# Science vs. the Secretary of State

SECY. OF STATE DULLES, in announcing on April 23 that the U.S. would continue to test atomic weapons, said these explosions are not "likely to have any appreciable effect upon the health situation." He said that the official attitude toward the tests was, as the N.Y. **Times** put it, "subject to change in the light of new scientific information." The GUARDIAN here prints statements by some of the world's foremost scientists. It suggests that readers clip and mail this compilation to the Secretary of State with a plea that the official attitude yield to the warnings of these unimpeachable scientists:

**PROF. N. J. BERNILL,** McGill University, Canada: "The risk we are now taking has not been calculated. We are playing with a new kind of fire, knowing only that the flame is hot and that we, as material, are inflammable . . . If we don't worry about ourselves, we should worry about the quality of our descendants. The test bomb explosions are inexcusable and should cease."

**DR. CHARLES NOEL MARTIN,** French nuclear physicist in a paper presented to the French Academy of Sciences: "Any increase in the number of explosions will destroy the conditions to which agricultural as well as human life have slowly adapted themselves. The danger limit may already have been passed."

**DR. WILLIAM F. NEUMAN,** chief of the biochemistry section of the Atomic Energy Commission project at the University of Rochester: "Our ignorance in this field is so great that we cannot say with any certainty that we have not already put so much strontium-90 into the stratosphere that harmful fall-out is now inevitable."

**DR. HERMAN J. MULLER,** prof. of zoology, Indiana University, Nobel prize winner: "The American people now are very close to the limits of the sustained background radiation they can comfortably stand."

**DR. RALPH E. LAPP,** addressing the Middlesex, N.J., County Medical Society: "Making the very conservative assumption that the test program continues and slowly accelerates so that the rate by 1970 is roughly twice the present rate, then by 1962 there will be enough radiostrontium committed to the stratosphere to produce 100% of the maximum permissible amouut in every person on the planet . . . While the full amount would not show up in the human body until the late 1970's, the die would have been cast irrevocably by 1962."

Herblock in Washington Post

**"Mutations, shmutations—as long as you're healthy."**

**WARREN WEAVER,** chairman of the Committee on Genetics Effects of Atomic Radiation of the Natl. Academy of Sciences, in testifying before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee Jan. 16, according to the N. Y. **Times,** gave "a prediction that an additional 6,000 handicapped babies would be born in the world in the present generation as a result of bomb-testing [and] an estimate that the rate of such births would increase proportionately as radiation effects passed through future generations."

**PROF. MILTON BURTON,** director, Notre Dame radiation laboratory: "The minimum first step of stopping atom bomb tests (could) limit the hazard of radioactively induced cancers for present generations (and) avoid some horrible consequences for the people of the future."

**LINUS PAULING,** Nobel laureate of California Inst. of Technology: "The world is now in a position where it must decide whether the health of its citizens and their children and grandchildren is more vital than the political advantages of the tests."

**DR. GEORGE W. BEADLE,** president, American Assn. for the Advancement of Science, after warning that radiations produce changes in the heredity of plants and animals, 99% of them for the worse: "There is no recovery from damage to the hereditary material. The effect is permanent and is transmitted from generation to generation until removed by the slow process of natural selection . . . Many genetic deaths in later generations will occur early in development and will be expressed as miscarriages. Some will result in stillbirths. Others will reduce the efficiency of individuals only slightly and in ways that will not be obvious."

**A. LACASSAGNE,** Chef de Service, Institut Pasteur, Paris, writing in the April, 1957, issue of **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists:** ". . . geneticists are justified in raising an alarm over the danger that a notable increase in general radioactivity might bring about for all living species, including the human race. Could what is true for the germinative sexual cells be likewise true for the somatic cells? Should cancer produced by radiation be considered a kind of somatic mutation? If this is true (as many radiobiologists admit), then the increase in the frequency of cancer will be accentuated in the future as the result of an ever-growing number of cancers caused by radiations."

**BRITISH ATOMIC SCIENTISTS ASSN.** announced in April that H-bomb explosions might "eventually produce bone cancer in 1,000 people for every million tons of TNT or equivalent explosive power."

**MICHAEL AMRINE,** formerly managing editor of the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists:** "Of course, there is probably a stronger case for unilateral action here than in the case of any other aspect of preparedness. When we test most of the other hammers of Mars we do not do it by hitting ourselves on the head."

**THE GOVT. OF INDIA,** in its official study, **Nuclear Explosions and their Effects:** "All are agreed that the test explosions do cause harmful effects. What people are not generally agreed about is the magnitude of the harm resulting from them . . . To argue that tests should stop only if it were definitely established that their continuation would bring **certain** disaster to mankind; is a regrettable commentary on 2,500 years of progress since the Buddha."

## Schweitzer appeal

*(Continued from Page 1)*

is taken into the body and continues to emit harmful radiations. He cited radioactive rain in Japan rendering water unfit for drinking and the pollution of the Columbia River by the Hanford atomic plant in Washington.

**FOR THE FUTURE:** He said: "The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plankton was 2,000 times higher, that of the ducks eating the plankton 40,000 times higher, that of the fish 150,000 times higher. In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river the radioactivity was 500,000 times higher and in the egg yolks of water birds more than 1,000,000 times higher."

He said no bomb-caused radioactivity was so small that it might not in the long run be dangerous, leading to diseases of bone and blood. Pointing to the harm to future generations, Schweitzer said:

"We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented under every circumstance.

"There can be no question of doing anything else, if only for the reason that we cannot take the responsibility for the consequences it might have for our descendants.

"They are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger . . . When public opinion has been created in the countries concerned and among all nations, an opinion informed of the dangers involved in going on with the tests and led by the reason which this information imposes, then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments."

**DULLES KEEPS CALM:** Schweitzer had prefaced his message by saying: "My age and the sympathy that I have gained for myself through advocating the idea of reverence for life, permit me to hope that my appeal may contribute to the preparing of the way for insight so urgently needed."

Official Washington reaction was brusque. Secy. of State Dulles said tests would go on until he was convinced they constituted a danger to health (see top).

Dr. Willard F. Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission made public his answer to Dr. Schweitzer. He said the risk involved in further bomb tests "is extremely small compared with other risks which persons everywhere take as a normal part of their lives." Dr. Libby asked Dr. Schweitzer to weigh this against "the far greater risk, to freedom-loving people everywhere in the world, of not maintaining our defenses against the totalitarian forces at large in the world until such time as safeguarded disarmament may be achieved."

Libby said the dangers of test fall-out were no greater than those involved in moving from a wooden house into a brick or concrete house "in certain parts of the world." He dismissed the danger to children of strontium-90 by comparing it to "the additional dosage which a resident at sea level would receive from cosmic rays if he moved from a beach to the top of a hill a few hundred feet high."

**GERMANY, JAPAN, VATICAN:** This was perhaps the blandest, most cheerful view of atomic dangers ever expressed. It had few echoes around the world.

● In Bonn, West Germany, Prof. Otto Hahn, Nobel Prize winner and the first to split the atom, welcomed Schweitzer's warning and said he was glad the message had directed world attention "to the fact that everyone—Americans, Britons and Russians—must get together" to discontinue testing nuclear weapons. Prof. Hahn is one of the 18 top German scientists who have refused to work on the development or testing of atomic weapons.

● Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi told the Foreign Correspondents' Club in Tokyo: "We demand the prohibition of all [nuclear weapons] experiments solely and purely from the standpoint of humanity." The Associated Press called it "one of Japan's boldest statement on the nuclear question."

More than 1,000 Tokyo students demonstrated in front of the British, U. S. and Soviet embassies on April 27. The Foreign Office reportedly instructed Ambassador Takezo Shimoda in Washington to ask the U. S. to postpone its Nevada tests scheduled for this month.

● Vatican City released the text of a note from Pope Pius XII to Premier Kishi's personal "stop-the-bomb" envoy Dr. Masatoshi Matsushita in which he condemned "this useless waste of scientific activity, work and material resources represented by preparation of that catastrophe whose ultimate biological, especially hereditary, effect on living species, in addition to its immense immediate damages, nobody can predict with certainty."

**STEVENSON'S COMMENT:** Dr. Matsushita, hurrying from capital to capital in the face of the impending British tests at Christmas Island, had met with a quick turn-down in Washington as well as in London. Secy. Dulles had told him a ban now was "impractical." He did better in Chicago in an interview with Adlai Stevenson who last year made the tests an issue in the Presidential campaign. Stevenson said after the conference that Secy. Dulles had apparently indicated some hope for the London disarmament talks in his interview with Dr. Matsushita. Stevenson commented:

Vicky in New Statesman and Nation

"It looks as though the President and his advisers are beginning to see the light, and certainly any positive steps toward a policy of controlling the testing of large nuclear weapons will have my total and wholehearted support, and will be reassuring to our friends in Japan and all Asia."

**MRS. ROOSEVELT CONCERNED:** Dr. Matsushita won a livelier response from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt who wrote in her column "My Day" after a visit from him: "It requires the experience the Japanese have had to make people feel strongly about doing something—and doing it now—to end nuclear bomb tests, which may be harming all of us more than we know."

Mrs. Roosevelt wrote that the question was not one of unilateral action but "whether we could not accept the offer which, if I remember rightly, has been made by the Soviet Union to abandon these tests."

While the argument went on, Norway complained of radioactive rain from the Soviet tests in Siberia; and John H. Harley, of the AEC's Health and Safety Laboratory in New York, announced that although the level of radioactive strontium in milk was still far from the danger point, it was "slowly but steadily rising."

82 YEARS IS A LONG TIME

# U. S. Congress hasn't passed a civil rights bill since 1875

THE YEAR 1875 was a lusty one in the life of the United States. The nation still had a year to go to celebrate its first centennial. The transcontinental railroad was only six years old and still a novelty. The telephone hadn't yet been invented. Grant was President and the U.S. Treasury was being looted on a grand scale. New York's Boss Tweed was in hiding in Spain after escaping from jail and a 12-year sentence for stealing some $75,000,000 from the city in two years.

Jay Gould and old Cornelius (What do I care about the law?) Vanderbilt were doing their stealing legitimately. Gen. Custer hadn't yet met the Sioux. Some of the bloodiest strikes in U.S. history, brought on by the depression resulting from the Wall Street Panic of 1873, were going on. Reconstruction had two years to run yet. It was the heyday of the Greenbackers, the Grangers and the Knights of Labor.

And it was the last year in our history that a Congress of the United States passed a civil rights bill.

**EIGHT YEARS LATER:** That measure guaranteed to Negroes, among other things, equal accommodations on public conveyances and in public places, and the right to serve on juries. The law didn't last long. Eight years later it was declared unconstitutional on the ground that it interfered with states' rights.

Never in all the 82 years since has a Federal law been passed to protect the rights of Negroes guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

Last week the Congress was going through the motions again of fighting the old lost battle. The bloody shirt and the rebel yell seemed as potent as ever against timid Northern liberals who seemed more concerned with staking out a moral claim to the Negro vote than in doing anything to earn it.

The bill under consideration was about the mildest ever offered, but, if passed, it would extend the Negroes' right to vote in Federal elections. It was sponsored in the name of President Eisenhower, but the President himself steadfastly refused to raise his voice in public in its behalf.

**BLASTING JOB NEEDED:** As Congress returned from its Easter recess, the measure was still in committees presided over by Southerners determined that the 82-year Congressional record of no civil rights legislation shall not be broken. Before the recess, chairman Eastland of the Senate Judiciary Committee said that "in all probability" the committee would begin consideration of the bill on April 29. But he indicated that many amendments would be offered with unlimited consideration of each of them.

Chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) of the House Rules Committee had also promised to begin hearings on the bill after the recess.

There was some talk in the Senate of trying to blast the measure out of the Eastland committee by a discharge petition, but this is a move rarely resorted to in the Senate. Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) warned that unless the bill was reported to the Senate floor by May 1, its chance of passage would be remote. Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D-W. Va.) said that unless Southern delaying tactics are defeated, "you are going to get judgment on judgment day."

**QUESTION OF CLOTURE:** If and when the bill gets to the Senate, it will face a Southern filibuster. Under the present Senate rule, in effect since 1949, debate can be stopped only by a vote of 64 Senators—which has never yet happened. From 1917 to 1949 cloture could be invoked by a vote of two-thirds of the Senators present, but cloture under that rule was successful only four times, and never on a civil rights measure.

Even if a Senate filibuster could be worn down, the bill faced other hazards in both Houses. Opponents were ready with amendments which would either insure defeat of the bill or nullify it if adopted. One of these is the old states' rights ritual and another is a "right-to-work" rider that would doom the bill.

But the "sacred right to a jury trial" has become the rallying cry of all the Southerners and many a timid Northern liberal sees this "civil liberties" angle an excuse for not fighting harder for the civil right to vote. Even assistant Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) now says that as a "supporter of civil rights, I think there is a good deal of merit to the argument" for jury trials.

**TRIAL BY JURY:** Under the bill now pending, the Federal government would be authorized to bring civil suits in Federal courts for injunctions to enforce existing Constitutional rights. Violation of such an injunction would constitute contempt of court. Such cases are traditionally heard by a judge without a jury, and the Constitution never has provided for jury trials in such cases.

Veteran Socialist leader Norman Thomas points out in his syndicated newspaper column: "The right to vote, basic to democracy, has been denied to Negroes to a greater or less extent ever since Federal troops were withdrawn from the South. If a Negro appealed to criminal proceedings under such poor statutes as existed, he lost before an all-white jury openly contemptuous of facts. It was, therefore, not only useless but dangerous for Negroes to go to court, and such old civil rights laws as existed became dead letters . . . Indeed, to require jury trials in such cases is to deny justice to the Negro since the juries would be drawn from the very whites against whom the Negro rights must be protected . . ."

It's been a long time since 1875, but as of last week Congressional proponents of civil rights didn't seem to have the crusading zeal, or even the simple courage, to bring this area of U.S. life into the twentieth century.

**THE FIRST TIME SINCE RECONSTRUCTION**
*Negroes registering to vote in South Carolina in 1948*

NO PANACEA, BUT . . .

# Prayer Pilgrimage will put heat on the Dixiecrats

By Eugene Gordon

PROBLEMS FACING the Southern Negro are "too complex" to be solved by "any single panacea," moral, economic or political, writes Hugh D. Price in his book **The Negro in Southern Politics** (N.Y.U. Press, Washington Sq., N.Y.C., 144 pp., $5). But the Baltimore **Afro-American** (4/27), while seeing no panacea in the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom scheduled for May 17, urged the Negro demonstrators and their friends to combine moral with well-planned political suasion.

The **Afro** said it is essential that all persons on the pilgrimage "represent specific districts and states," so that when Representatives and Senators are visited in their Washington offices they will realize that this unusual demonstration points not only to the Negro's moral strength but—most especially—to his political intent for the 1958 Congressional and local elections. The **Afro** added: "Even Mississippi and Georgia members of Congress know how to turn on the charm when their pro-civil rights constituents pay a visit to the office."

**THE MOTIVATION IS CLEAR:** Although, as Price shows, neither Mississippi nor Georgia had registered more than 15% of its Negro population for voting in 1952, politicians of both states, according to **Southern School News** (April) and the Negro press, are evincing painful sensitivity to Negro political pressure. Both Negro and white Southerners now regard most organized Negro action as politically motivated. Official awareness of the Negro's potential political strength was underscored by Mississippi Gov. Coleman's warning early this year, following various activities by Mississippi Negroes, that if any of the Federal civil rights bills became law the Negro would be "its first victim, not its beneficiary."

First, nearly 600 students of the Alcorn (Miss.) Agricultural and Mechanical College (Negro) defied Gov. Coleman and his lily-white college board by boycotting classes. Immediate reason was an "Uncle Tom" professor's criticism of the NAACP in the Jackson (Miss.) **State-Times;** underlying that was the state's refusal to improve second-rate Alcorn by integrating it into Mississippi's general college system.

**"ONLY A PREVIEW":** Elsewhere in Mississippi a speaker at an NAACP meeting exhorted: "Keep your means high and lofty to achieve the high and lofty goal of equal rights and first-class citizenship. Push the fight of non-violence and legal procedure to city hall, to the Governor's office, and to the White House. Register and vote!"

NAACP director of youth activities Mrs. Louella Bender Johnson at the same meeting predicted that the Alcorn student walkout was "only a preview of coming attractions" to be staged by Mississippi Negro youth for all-around citizenship rights. Though little was heard of it outside the state, students of Mississippi Vocational and Jackson State (Negro) colleges protested the college board's ukase against integrated basketball games.

Recently Mississippi Circuit Judge Tom Brady sentenced a white rapist of a Negro girl to 20 years at hard labor for bringing "bitter condemnation on the state of Mississippi." Brady's act is generally regarded by the Negro press as recognition of the growth of organized Negro power since the Emmet Till lynching in 1955.

**SITUATION IN GEORGIA:** In Georgia, however, the recognition seems not to have penetrated. The state's 1958 Democratic primary is a year and a half away, but Lt. Gov. Vandiver and State Commissioner of Revenue Williams are publicly debating who is stronger on the segregation issue.

Austin T. Walden and other Negro leaders in the fight for full citizenship for all Georgians challenge the Dixiecrat theory of total white-voter devotion to jimcrow and white supremacy. White voters helped elect Walden to the City Executive Committee in 1953. Negroes have organized the Georgia Voters League.

**MAY 8 PRIMARY:** The Voters' League goal is at least 300,000 Georgia Negroes registered by next year's primary. Meanwhile it is supporting members Theodore Martin Alexander Sr., businessman, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta U. president, in Atlanta's May 8 primary. Alexander seeks a nomination for the Board of Aldermen; Dr. Clement seeks reelection to the Board of Education. He was first elected, largely by white votes, in 1953.

Georgia Pilgrims to Washington on May 17 expect to challenge their state's two Senators and 10 Representatives on (1) the legislature's resolution to impeach U.S. Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Clark, Douglas, Frankfurter and Reed for committing "high crimes and misdemeanors" in integration decisions; (2) opposition to civil rights legislation.

## *Prayer Pilgrimage*

THE DECISION to hold the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom was made early in March by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., and 75 other leaders of civic, fraternal, labor and religious organizations.

May 17 was chosen over the original May 18 date so the demonstration—scheduled for three hours, beginning at noon, on the Lincoln Memorial grounds—would embrace the exact time Chief Justice Warren began and ended the Supreme Court opinion outlawing public school jimcrow on May 17, 1954.

Rev. Thomas Kilgore Jr., pastor of Harlem's Friendship Baptist Church, national director of the Pilgrimage, has outlined this "three-fold purpose":

- To demonstrate the Negro people's unity behind the civil rights demands now before Congress.
- To demonstrate support of the Supreme Court opinion.
- To protest the terror under which some Negroes are forced to live.

Persons wishing to join the Pilgrimage should write immediately for travel suggestions and other information to Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. (or, in N.Y.C., phone MOnument 6-6997.

BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

# The rocky road to reappraisal

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

"IF WE OPEN a quarrel between the past and the present," said Winston Churchill as he led Britain into the fight for life in 1940, "we shall find we have lost the future. Recrimination is utterly futile, even harmful." Four years earlier he had observed that "the use of recriminating about the past is to enforce effective action at the present." On Easter week-end Britain's harried and decimated Communists, in face of "the most savage onslaughts from the capitalist enemy through every force of propaganda" (chairman Willie Gallacher) overwhelmingly supported the Churchillian war-time thesis.

The party's special congress reflected the ferment throughout the world movement since Moscow's "Stalin era" disclosures and the Hungarian uprising. In Britain as elsewhere there has been a wave of party resignations and anguished reappraisal of the rigid, ruthless bureaucracy into which "democratic centralism" degenerated. With varying fervor Soviet, Chinese and Polish leaders have continued to seek a Marxist cure for this disease. In Western parties the search has been cautiously encouraged in Italy, stiffly frowned upon in France. In Britain the discussion floodgates were briefly opened after the 20th CPSU congress; but for party "intellectuals" who want to examine the past for the sake of present and future action, there was short shrift at Easter week-end.

**7,000 LOST:** The entrenched leadership confessed to "too much centralism, too little democracy" and the loss of 7,000 of last year's 34,000 members; but calling for "unity to end Tory rule," they hoped the strays would eventually return since "for a genuine Marxist there is no alternative." Some of the 550 voting delegates questioned how much, quantitatively and qualitatively, would remain to unify if the mistakes responsible for the losses were not tackled with something more than generalizations.

They complained that of more than 2,000 amendments and resolutions from branches, only a handful came to the floor and then were brushed aside without proper examination. They did not suggest that the procedure was any less democratic than that of the average bourgeois party or trade union, but doubted the leadership's claim that it was more so. Among withdrawn or undiscussed motions were 35 on Hungary (one was discussed); others varied in theme from the position of Jews in the U.S.S.R., and the party press' "suppression of inconvenient facts" and uncritical support of Moscow, to a plea for the use of "plain English." Criticism of Soviet and Hungarian leaders' past mistakes, and a resolution asking Moscow to "show moral leadership" by halting H-tests, were drowned under the call for "a stronger and more united party to lead the workers" and denunciation of "revisionists." The leadership's slate for the new executive, including all of the past policy-makers, won easy election. Building worker Brian Behan, the only executive member who made a critical speech, was dropped from the slate.

**JOSEPH STALIN**
*The ghost at the banquet*

**LEVY IS SHAKEN:** Arnold Rothstein, chief party expert on the U.S.S.R., drew cheers for affirming the leadership's rejection of "opportunism together with its twin sister sectarianism, reformism and revisionism." The expulsion of Peter Fryer, **Daily Worker** correspondent who resigned from the paper after it suppressed his reports on Hungary, was confirmed by congress with but 31 contrary votes. Fryer stood outside distributing copies of the speech in his own defense, which he was not allowed to make before the Appeals Committee, telling the party it had no future if it continued to be "dominated by Stalinists." Nearby the anti-Communist **Tribune** was being hawked, featuring an angry Fryer prophesy of 4,000 more resignations after the congress.

The party, a Scottish woman delegate reminded an approving congress, could not be "an association for the protection of people's private consciences." For Prof. Hyman Levy, a party-branch delegate who most bitterly challenged the leadership, there was more sympathy: in the Executive and Appeals Committee elections he was a runner-up with 100 votes.

Mathematician Levy—for decades a respected party worker and theoretician, himself sometimes criticized by rank-and-filers for excessive rigidity and Moscow-worship—spoke as a passionate advocate of democratic centralism desiring only to make it work. He said he had been "shaken to his foundations" by what he saw and heard on a trip to the U.S.S.R. last year. He was prepared to accept that the human sacrifice might be the inevitable price for building socialism in 40 years, and that there might have been overriding reasons for not publicly airing it in the initial cold-war years; but he accused British party leaders of having known some of the truth and having hushed it up even in their own circle. Now it was above all as a Marxist that Levy could not accept a taboo on discussion of this period of history; for if Marxism "does not arise from analysis of history, it is not anything."

**TEARS FROM STONE:** An immediate cause of Levy's change of position had been his first-hand study of the past and present plight of Jews in the U.S.S.R., about which he had published a report in the party press. In Moscow he got little satisfaction from Central Committee chairman Suslov and other leaders, who admitted all the "Stalin era" crimes but said discrimination was a thing of the past. Jews now held prominent posts on all levels, but Suslov insisted that as a separate culture they were "dying out," despite the continued requirement to write "Nationality—Jewish" on passport, visa and other application forms. Suslov's explanation for the non-existence of a Yiddish press and theater was that the Jews did not ask for them. In Paris, Levy bought two issues of the **Pariser Tsaitchrift** (nos. 15 and 16, 1956-57) entirely filled with the work of Soviet Yiddish writers, who presumably could not publish in their own country.

Speaking as one Jewish delegate to another, Ivor Montagu reproved Levy: "It is doubtful whether there would be one Jew alive in Europe, had it not been for the Soviet Union." Next day Levy was on every front page and his phone rang continuously, with friendly offers from the sensational press and the television services. He was at his desk "committing the cardinal sin," as he wrote, of "criticizing in the bourgeois press" (**New Statesman & Nation**) with whose loftly anti-Communist attitude "I strongly disagree." Paying tribute to the Soviets' socialist construction and asking "who are we to judge" their inhumanities in achieving it, and praising British Communists' "devotion and self-sacrifice" in face of past dilemmas which "it is easy to understand," he wrote:

"While to a Marxist a Communist Party is essential, the Communist Party could be spurious and non-Marxist . . . To persist in hiding such important historical data was a betrayal of Marxism . . . To lose 7,000 members out of 34,000 in one year is a major catastrophe . . . During the past year I have had innumerable letters, from members of 20 years' standing and more, that would have wrung tears from a heart of stone—members who have turned gray with worry at what they regard as mental and moral degeneration."

**THE BRETHREN:** Summing up for the executive, natl. organizer William Lauchlan said: "We cannot tolerate a situation in which comrades claim the right to take part in the formulation of policy, and, if the final decision is not the one they want, refuse to carry out the policy and actually have the right to fight against the majority decision." The press had its field-day, giving unprecedented space and prominence to congress coverage and editorials pronouncing the party "an even more negligible force politicaly than it was before" (**Manchester Guardian**, 4/-23). The **Observer** pictured the party as shrinking into 'the Plymouth Brethren of politics, insulated against doubt . . . ".

In most of the party rank-and-file, disagreement with Levy's position seemed mixed with satisfaction that he had stated it. Seeing recrimination as futile and a showdown fight ahead, they rallied behind the same leaders and dug in for fear of losing the future. Proscribed by the Labour Party which they support, their foreseeable political future remained obscure. For their party's future as a spark-plug of labor militancy, they were heartened by the defeat at three Easter union conferences of moves to proscribe Communists from official posts.

Meanwhile thousands of ex-Communists who believed the party's road to the future was a blind alley were "caught between the equally repugnant orthodoxies" of CP and Labour Party hierarchies (letter to **Tribune**, 4/26). They asked: Where do we go from here? Many were finding a temporary home in the non-partisan forums launched by the new Oxford publication **Universities & Left Review**. Jam-packed forums featuring Stalin biographer Isaac Deutscher and **France-Observateur** editor Claude Bourdet had produced the liveliest progressive free-for-alls in years.

IN SUPREME COURT

## Foreign born win victory on quiz

THE AMERICAN Committee for Protection of Foreign Born won a long fight against the supervisory parole provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law when the Supreme Court ruled on April 29 that an alien awaiting deportation could not be compelled to answer questions about Communist activities.

The ruling came in the case of George Witkovich of Chicago, ordered deported in 1953 to Yugoslavia, which thus far has refused to accept him. He won two lower court reversals of the supervisory parole provisions and the government appealed to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that a lower court was correct in the interpretation that the Attorney General had only the right to supervise "to make sure he is available for deportation, and no further power."

Another supervisory parole case, that of Mrs. Antonia Sentner of St. Louis, has also been appealed to the Supreme Court by the government. In addition there are five other cases brought before the Court by the ACPFB challenging various other provisions and practices under the Walter-McCarran immigration law.

Equal under the law?

**Negro Faces Death For Dixie Burglary**

By the Associated Press.

BIRMINGHAM, April 24.—A 26-year-old Negro was to be sentenced to death today on a first-degree burglary conviction—a penalty already fixed by a jury that deliberated less than an hour yesterday.

Charles Clarence Hamilton, of suburban Ensley, was convicted of entering the home of a white family in the early morning hours last October. When police arrested him he was in the house and had removed his pants and shoes, wit

spoke a foreign language, and he could not understand her.

Jacob Milko testified he had held Hamilton at gunpoint until police arrived.

**Court Frees White Who Slew Negro**

By the Associated Press.

LONGVIEW, Tex., April 24—Perry Dean Rogs 21, yesterday was convicted of murder

N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 4/24/57

## Flat-footed diplomacy

JUST BECAUSE most American policemen are Irish, is this a good enough reason for appointing an American policeman as United States Ambassador in Dublin? Presumably President Eisenhower thinks it is. For otherwise he would surely not have named Mr. Scott McLeod, the former F.B.I. agent and State Department Security officer, for the post. Mr. McLeod came to the State Department in the early days of the Administration as an acknowledged partisan of the McCarthy wing of the Republican Party. In the words of Mr. Dulles' latest hagiographer, his appointment as security officer "seemed likely to keep McCarthy and his allies off the Department's neck." It tragically failed in this respect. Where it succeeded, however, was in spreading suspicion and fear throughout all ranks of the foreign service, as well as leading to major injustices. To quote again from the same source: "How many individuals were done injustice [by Mr. McLeod's methods] is something known only to the men in charge of the personnel records."

It does seem flat-footed diplomacy in the most literal sense to elevate to ambassadorial rank a man who failed so disastrously as State Department policeman. It is also highly unfortunate that this unpalatable promotion should come within a week of the death of Mr. Herbert Norman, the Canadian Ambassador in Cairo. Mr. Norman took his own life after repeated but wholly unfounded accusations of Communist sympathies by a Congressional committee. That this latest and most tragic example of the damage still being done by McCarthyism should coincide with such a gratuitous honor for one of McCarthy's most energetic agents will disturb most Americans quite as much as it shocks friends of the United States abroad.

—London **Daily Telegraph**, April 11

Herblock in Washington **Post**

**"His name just happened to come up"**

AND DEUTSCHLAND WILL BE UEBER ALLES

# Will the Common Market turn France into Europe's orchard?

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

SOME ONE recently urged Gen. de Gaulle to protest publicly against the European Market project to which he has been opposed from the start. "This treaty is so absurd it will never be ratified," said de Gaulle. "And even if it is it can never be applied. And even if it should be, it would quickly get to be of no use at all."

This, of course, is not the opinion of European Market advocates inside the French government and out. As for some of the West German partners to it, they have a still different but very neat view of future developments.

According to a German business man visiting Paris, German big business has it figured that the European Market will liquidate much of French industry in a matter of years, and that (just as Hitler and Pètain planned it 15 years ago) France will in time have to resign herself to becoming Little Europe's orchard and vegetable garden.

The German banker Hermann Abs, war criminal in 1945, Bonn government counsellor in 1957, recently predicted that after European Market ratification "the predominant situation of German industry requires that Germany construct housing for one or two million French and Italian workers who would be forced to seek work there."

If these statements are borne out, for France the European Market would mean, first, de-industrialization and the end of social progress; then, unemployment and forced emigration, and, finally, the loss of national independence.

**COMPLEX AFFAIR:** The European Market treaty, scheduled to come before the French House for ratification before the summer recess, is a voluminous and complex document. Few people have read it in full, fewer still have the necessary economic background to grasp its long-term implications on French, European and world affairs. A thorough study of the question would fill a small book. But a few obvious common sense points strike the eye.

What is the European Market? It is the six Little European countries (Western Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg) proposing to unite in a single economic bloc. Inside this bloc, in a transition period of from 12 to 17 years, customs barriers will come down and goods, capital and workers will be able to move and settle freely.

**PROSPERITY FOR WHOM?** A sure promise of prosperity!, proclaim convinced pro-Europeans, hypnotized by the prospects of Little Europe's 160 million producers-consumers.

Kontakt, Oslo

Prosperity certainly, but for whom?—ask the opponents. For the trouble is that the six partners do not start off from even roughly comparable economic bases.

● **Take the free movement of capital.** Of the six European Market countries Germany is dominant in industrial production. Compared to France, Germany produces twice as much steel, twice as much electricity, three times as many chemicals, 2.5 times as much coal (without counting the Saar). Between 1950 and 1955, the industrial production index has risen 90% in Germany, 40% in France. German exports, down to zero after the last war, already total 11% of world exports. Add to this the fact that German social laws favor industry over unions, and it is clear that inside the European Market, capital investments will almost invariably go to Germany, where production rates and profits are highest, big business interests most protected.

Liberation, Paris

"How do you say 'April Fool' in the Little European language?"

Tribune des Nations, Paris

"My client may have sold his grandmother, but we emphatically deny that he overcharged for her!"

● **Take free European Market trade.** French prices (conditioned by Western Europe's most advanced social laws, by the Indo-Chinese and Algerian wars, by many other factors) are from 20% to 40% higher than those of the other Little European countries. French exports, at present, are possible only through government subsidies. Once customs barriers and government protection come down, many French products will no longer sell abroad and French industries, as a result, will close down. Meanwhile the French domestic market will be swamped with cheaper foreign merchandise.

● **Take the free circulation of workers inside European Market countries.** Italy today has 2,000,000 unemployed, Western Germany close to 1,000,000. France is practising a full-employment policy. The influx of foreign unemployed workers into France would bring adverse pressure on French social laws, the fruit of many years' battles and the 1936 Popular Front government. French workers today get 18 days' paid vacation, as against 12 days for German, Italian and Dutch workers; they get overtime pay after 40 hours, Italians after 48, Belgians after 49.

A Common Market, in the long run, would also have to have common wage policies. But free enterprise will work for unification at the lowest level, not the highest, unless surefire provisions are made to the contrary. No such provisions are written into the European Market project.

**WHAT LENIN SAID:** The United Europe idea is as old as the Vatican-inspired, German-led Holy Roman Empire. It has tried for comebacks often. Many French opponents of the European Market, among them Mendès-France, would be surprised to find themselves in agreement, at least on one point, with Lenin. Back in 1915, when the European idea was also in the air, Lenin in a prophetic article found that "the United States of Europe, under capitalism, are either impossible or reactionary . . . Fair sharing is out of the question: the most powerful imperialism gives the orders and takes the lion's share."

But economic unification is only the first step. Political unity must follow. One notorious ex-Pètainist journalist and writer said in a recent article: "A common market calls for a monetary union; a monetary union is not conceivable without a beginning of political structure. After that adaptation, common politics will become possible."

**A RACE FOR TIME:** Will the European Market treaty be ratified? At this writing, there is a good chance it will. Bonn and Paris are in a great hurry to push the project through their respective parliaments. But between now and the fall, a dramatic race for time may be run between the partisans and foes of the treaty. Ratification of the project rests essentially on two heads: Mollet's and Adenauer's—and Adenauer may well be beaten in the German elections next September.

The answer to a capital question—the most important since the European Army debate—may, among other things, also depend on the outcome of that race.

A DESPERATE MOVE BY FRANCE TO HANG ON

# *Eurafrica — a new way to spell colonialism*

FRANCE'S "new" policy towards its remaining African colonies is demonstrating that imperialism dies hard.

As a precondition to joining the European Common Market (See Anne Bauer above), French Premier Mollet last February forced the inclusion in the project of his grandiose Eurafrica plan. The purpose of Eurafrica, he said, was to protect the African colonies of the European members of the Common Market from "the danger of an exalted nationalism." To bring "real" independence to the Africans and "bypass the stage of nationalism," Mollet obtained agreement on a capital pool of market members to develop and integrate the economy of the African colonies with the Common Market. On Feb. 28 he received President Eisenhower's blessing.

The members of the Market agreed to contribute to a $582,000,000 fund, of which $510,000,000 would be used by France to develop the oil and other rich mineral resources of French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa and Madagascar. Algeria, Mollet said, would be included in Eurafrica as soon as conditions permitted, and Morocco and Tunisia would be invited to join. U.S. investment would be welcome.

**BEHIND THE FACADE:** Even a superficial analysis discloses that Eurafrica is a fancy name for imperialist exploitation of colonial raw materials and markets for finished goods. Mollet's scheme was to get the Common Market members to put up the funds for continued exploitation of France's African colonies, since the Indo-Chinese, Algerian and Egyptian wars had disastrously drained French financial resources. Britain—not a Market member—aptly called Eurafrica "simply a device for helping France hold its colonial position in Africa . . . not much more than a paper proposal for providing France with new German capital" (**Business Week**, 4/20).

Reaction among the Market members varied. West Germany favored it because it would assure the booming German industry cheap African raw materials and a market for its consumer goods. Italy, whose trusteeship over Somaliland ends in 1960, liked the idea of access to new African spoils. Belgium was reluctant to bring the Congo's fabulous uranium and other riches into the Eurafrica common pot.

**GERMANY AND U.S.:** In his enthusiasm, however, Mollet overlooked the dangers to France and the obstacles. West Germany, as **Business Week** pointed out, "will naturally seek out investments in French territories that will bring profits fairly rapidly." U.S. Steel already owns 49% of the manganese mining Compagnie Miniere de l'Ogue in French Equatorial Africa; Bethlehem Steel has a stake in the iron deposits in this region; and U.S. oil companies are interested in Sahara oil resources. This indicates the fields U.S. investors would try to capture in Africa. As **Business Week** said, "that would tend to leave France holding the bag in building up basic economic services in Africa."

Africans themselves are hardly dancing with joy over Eurafrica. Ghana's independence has strengthened the nationalist movements in the remaining African colonies, including France's. West Africans and Equatorial Africans are impatient with meager political advances doled out by Paris. Madagascar—whose graphite is pledged to the U.S.—has been ruled with an iron hand by France since 1947, when the French government crushed the revolt of the Malagasy people with utmost brutality (90,000 killed, dozens of villages razed).

**THE OLD PATTERN:** Africans in the French and Belgian colonies are not excited by the 50- and 30-year targets for even "limited autonomy" offered by their rulers, even as they speak of Eurafrica bringing "real" freedom. The Africans also feel, as **Business Week** said, "that Eurafrica is merely streamlined imperialism that will follow the old pattern of holding back African industrialization while exploiting its raw materials."

France's future in Africa is indicated by the trek back home of French capital and French residents (more than 150,000). "The emigration movement is gaining in momentum from month to month," the **Christian Science Monitor** reported (4/23). "There are indications that the capital loss is heavy."

Africa needs capital investments and development of its economy in a balanced and planned way. This will not be achieved by West German investment to extract raw materials cheaply, while the French ease the way by building transportation and communications systems and by keeping the nationalist movements under control by force and false promises. The Africans would prefer economic aid channeled through the UN—and the freedom to use it as they see fit.

# Race to the brink

(Continued from Page 1)

ordered the Sixth Fleet to get going.

With this display of U.S. support, Hussein set up a docile cabinet, placed the big cities under martial law and a tight curfew, banned all political parties and padlocked their headquarters, arrested nearly 100 civilians and soldiers to be tried by hastily-established military tribunals.

Disturbed, Syrian President Kuwatly held consultations in Cairo and in Riyadh at the urgent request of King Saud of Saudi Arabia. On April 28 King Hussein flew to Riyadh, as Syria's Foreign Minister predicted success in maintaining the unity of Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Returning home, Hussein was reported to have accepted a special gift of $10,000,000 from Washington but shied away from openly siding with the U. S. under the Eisenhower Doctrine. Meanwhile, the Arab press bitterly criticised "American imperialism" represented by the Sixth Fleet menacing the Middle East.

**UP TO THE BRINK:** Fears and doubts were also expressed in Washington. Senator Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) feared that the Administration was deliberately rushing to the "brink of war." The Administration reiterated its "vital interest" in Jordan, pointed out that Congress had endorsed the Eisenhower Doctrine which empowers the President to use U.S. armed forces against "armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism."

Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.), however, found no signs of Soviet intervention and felt no need for emergency action. Some Washington observers also recalled that only a short time ago, in answer to a question by Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.), Secy. Dulles had admitted: "None of the governments of any of the countries of the Middle East is, in our opinion, at the present under the domination of international communism."

**ISRAEL BLAMED:** Hussein has accused Cairo of fomenting trouble in Jordan, and has made the surprising charge that left-wing Jordanians were "brothers and collaborators with the Communist Jews" and were taking direction from the "center of communism" in Israel.

Reporting from Jordan (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, (4/28), Joseph Alsop said the Sixth Fleet was sent to the Middle East not "primarily against the Syrians or the Egyptians or even the Russians" but to "liberate" King Hussein "from the threat of Israeli intervention." Alsop added that the idea was "apparently first mooted in Washington about ten days ago" and was conveyed to the King later by U.S. Ambassador Lester Mallory during "a long afternoon exchange of views."

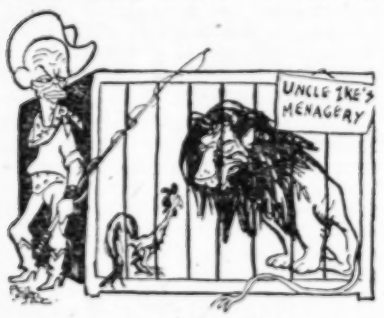
Whatever the immediate reason for the dispatch of the Sixth Fleet might have been, the reason for the mutual affection between King Hussein and the U.S. State Dept. is not difficult to fathom.

**WHY JORDAN:** Washington is interested in Jordan for the same reason that Britain originally created it: as a strategic military outpost for protecting oil investments, whose fabulous profits can be guaranteed only by feudal rulers unmindful of their peoples' welfare. Hence also the U.S. partiality for the rulers of all the other oil-bearing Middle Eastern countries, and the fear that the relatively popular governments of Syria and Egypt might set an example to their neighbors.

But the growth of popular, nationalist movements among their own people creates dilemmas for the feudal rulers, which they try to solve by maintaining friendly relations with such countries as Syria and Egypt. This is why King Saud, while he supports Hussein and plays along with the U.S., seems nevertheless unwilling to see the breakup of his pact with Jordan, Syria and Egypt.

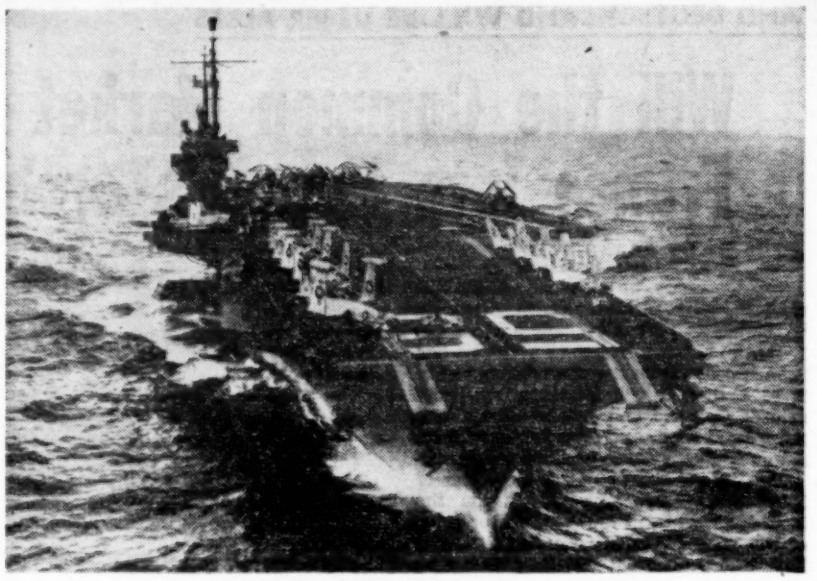
**ROAD TO PEACE:** The road to a solution of Middle East problems was pointed out by Soviet Premier Bulganin in his April 25 letter to British Prime Minister Macmillan, which dealt exhaustively with East-West relations.

Reminding that the situation in the Middle East, "directly adjacent to the frontiers of the Soviet Union, cannot but affect the interests of the Soviet Union," Bulganin urged: (1) non-interference by the Great Powers in the domestic affairs of the Middle Eastern countries; (2) renunciation of force and settlement of disputes between the Great Powers and the Middle Eastern countries as well as among the Middle Eastern countries themselves through peaceful negotiations; (3) protection of Western economic interests in the area without injury to the "legitimate interests and rights" of the people of that area; (4) development of "normal economic relations between states without infringing in any way the sovereignty of the countries of that area." London newspapers, the N.Y. **Times** reported (4/25), almost unanimously "urged that Macmillan should at least test Marshal Bulganin's sincerity."




Canard Enchaine, Paris

**The lion: "Remember Waterloo and all that?"**
**The cock: "Ah, those were the good old days!"**



**IKE SAVE THE KING!**
*U.S.S. Forrestal goes roaring to the brink in Jordan's crisis.*

**SUEZ FORMULA:** While Jordan remained tense, some progress was reported on the issue of the Suez Canal. On April 24 Egypt registered with the UN as "an international instrument" a declaration on the operation of the canal.

Reaffirming Egypt's "determination" to abide by the 1888 Constantinople Convention, the declaration made the following provisions: (1) differences in interpreting the Convention, as in the case of Israeli shipping, would be referred to the World Court, whose decision would be binding; (2) international arbitration of complaints of discrimination and other violations of the Canal Code; (3) Egypt will set aside 25% of gross canal receipts for maintenance and improvement of the canal; (4) consultation between canal users and Egyptian Canal Authority for advancing the canal's usefulness; (5) increase in tolls will be limited to 1% within any twelve months and additional increase would be settled by negotiation or arbitration.

**WHO WILL TEST?** There were signs of satisfaction at the UN. One diplomat said: "It is as solemn a declaration as you will get from any sovereign state . . . If you suspect Egypt's faith in this, would you be any more trusting of her compliance with a negotiated treaty?" At a UN Security Council meeting the U.S. agreed to give the declaration a trial.

The declaration, however, did not solve the question of Israeli shipping through the canal. Egypt was expected to continue to bar ships to Israel and, since neither Israel nor the U.S. were signatories of the 1888 Convention, some other country would have to take the issue to the World Court. Israel itself was unwilling to refer the issue to the World Court, after Egypt had ignored repeated UN directives as well as UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold's recent pleas to allow passage to ships bound for Israel.

LAWYER'S ORDEAL

# Sheiner is cleared in Florida victory

MIAMI, FLA.

FLORIDA JUDGE Ray Pearson last month dismissed disbarment proceedings which had been pressed for three years against Miami attorney Leo Sheiner for invoking the Fifth Amendment at an Eastland Committee hearing in New Orleans in March, 1954.

Sheiner's disbarment was first ordered at the height of the hysteria in Miami against Progressive Party members and others whom state attorney George Brautigam tried to jail for refusing to answer questions under the state's immunity law. The cases against the progressives were eventually thrown out, but Sheiner's disbarment stuck until testimony against him by the discredited government witness Joseph Mazzei caused the verdict to be set aside and a new trial ordered.

**A PRINCIPLE ESTABLISHED:** Sheiner's ordeal included two disbarment proceedings, three years away from his practice of law, and two appeals to the Florida Supreme Court, with all the expense involved. What his final victory has established in Florida, as a result of **Florida vs. Sheiner**, is this:

". . . Claiming the privilege against self-incrimination is not a disgrace. It isn't to be construed as an inference of guilt or that one who claims it is addicted to criminal tendencies. It may be claimed by the innocent as well as the guilty, and this exercise may not be considered a breach of duty to the court."

Sheiner had been represented throughout the case by attorneys Jack Kehoe and Louis Jepeway of Miami and John M. Coe of Pensacola, new president of the Natl. Lawyers Guild.

Lancaster in London Daily Express

**"Do you remember saying 'Sure, the Middle East's just the same as the Middle West only further east'?"**

ALBAM FOLLOWS THE SOBLES

# Third defendant changes his plea to guilty in N.Y. espionage case

JACOB ALBAM last week joined Jack and Myra Soble in pleading guilty to one of a six-count espionage indictment.

All three were arrested in a dawn raid by the FBI last January. The first count of the indictment charged actual transmittal of U.S. defense data to the Soviet Union, which could lead to a death sentence. On Feb. 13 all three pleaded innocent to all counts. Five days later Jack Soble collapsed in his prison cell and was taken to the psychiatric division of Bellevue Hospital where he was confined for three weeks.

Federal Judge Richard H. Levet ruled on April 9 that Soble was fit to stand trial. On the next day the Sobles were brought into court to announce a change to a guilty plea on the second count of the indictment charging they had conspired with Albam and Soviet officials to gather data for transmittal to the Soviet Union. Ten years and a $10,000 fine is the maximum sentence for that offense.

**'MINOR FIGURE':** The Sobles went directly from the court to the Grand Jury which is reported preparing new indictments. They testified for 40 minutes. Their change of plea and the pressure on them to "cooperate" left Albam facing a lonely trial for his life.

On April 26 Albam told Judge Levet he, too, would plead guilty to the second count of the indictment. His court-appointed attorney Harold O. N. Frankel said in court: "Albam admits that he was in the conspiracy. But I want to state emphatically that he never committed any act against the United States."

Frankel told reporters outside the courtroom: "Albam, in my opinion, is an elderly, scholarly gentleman who was really a very minor figure in this conspiracy. Unfortunately he became enmeshed in a situation through no fault of his own and he committed no act against this government."

**STILL MYSTERY:** Judge Levet set Fri., May 3, for sentencing the three but, according to the N.Y. **Daily Mirror**, "he is expected to postpone sentencing to give Albam a chance to 'sing' about his espionage activities."

At sentencing time the government may agree to quash the five remaining counts of the indictment, to which all three still plead innocent; or it may insist on prosecuting them, which could mean a trial for the lives of all three. It was freely indicated that the government would be guided in its decision by the kind of "cooperation" they demonstrate before the Grand Jury.

If the government quashes the remaining counts, the nation may never know what conspiracy there really was; who gathered what data and transmitted it to whom. The indictment referred only to "pieces of paper with writing thereon" transmitted to "individuals" in various places around the world. The only witness announced by the government was ex-film producer Boris Morros whose role in the affair now may never be made clear.

# Steel union

(Continued from Page 1)

port-Homestead area in Pennsylvania, Paul N. Hilbert, a Rarick supporter, defeated John R. Sullivan by 13,734 to 6,269. In the Cleveland-Lorain district, Paul E. Schremp beat B. W. Ohler by 15,127 to 12,079.

In the only other contest, incumbent secy.-treas. I. W. Abel ran well ahead of McDonald in defeating Rarick's running-mate, William C. Klug of Milwaukee, by 420,085 to 181,264. Howard R. Hague, who in a 1955 election was McDonald's hand-picked candidate for a vice-presidency and won in a bitter campaign against a director from the field, ran unopposed this time. He received 479,747 votes which meant that nearly 150,000 members who voted refused to check his name. More than 500,000 members didn't vote at all.

**NO CONCESSIONS:** Before the official count was announced, Rarick had declared that he would win "if the people's votes are allowed to stand as they voted." After the official tally was made known, he said: "I will not concede this election . . . I will not concede until such time as I have been furnished with a breakdown of the voting, local by local. Until I have been fully satisfied as to the honesty of the vote count at the local level, I will make no concessions."

In mid-February James A. Ashton, attorney for the Rarick forces and a former steelworker, threatened to seek a court review on charges of irregularities in the election. Rarick, in his demand for a breakdown of the vote, said he possesses "concrete evidence of many irregularities." Earlier Robert T. Richardson, leader of the Rarick forces in the Gary area, said he would ask a Congressional probe of the election there on charges that there was "corruption in the handling of the voting."

**HOW IT ALL BEGAN:** The surprising rank-and-file upsurge was set off at the union's convention last September when dues were increased from $3 to $5 a month and McDonald's salary was boosted by $10,000 a year to put him in the $50,000 bracket. Opponents of these moves charged they were railroaded and Rarick, until then an unknown, set up a Dues Protest Committee and went to work.

McDonald and his administration at first ignored the Rarick group but abandoned that tactic when the groundswell began to show. Rarick and his backers were threatened with expulsion; Rarick countered with the charge that an unnamed international officer of the union had offered him $250,000 to retire from the contest. McDonald termed this an "unmitigated lie" and the fight was on.

The vast union machinery was set in motion behind McDonald. The pre-election issue of the union paper was a puff-sheet for him, with his picture on both the cover and the back page. Rarick and his candidates were not mentioned. A series of regional conferences with McDonald reporting on union gains were turned into election campaign rallies; the union itself estimated the cost of the junkets at $1,000,000. In many steel cities full-page newspaper ads were run boosting McDonald's candidacy.

**DEEP-GOING PROTEST:** Rarick had no funds for his campaign; what was spent came as contributions from the rank and file. Rarick meetings were heckled by staff members on the union payroll. Three rank-and-file candidates were ruled off the ballot. Two union employes who won nominations were suspended by McDonald. It was against such odds that Rarick rolled up his unprecedented vote and made it all the more impressive by defeating McDonald in his own local.

The revolt seemed to go far deeper than simply a protest against a dues increase and to many it heralded a rise in rank-and-file militancy throughout the labor movement generally. The **Wall St. Journal**, extremely sensitive to all labor developments, said: "Labor leaders are currently getting a blunt warning that their jobs don't necessarily last forever."

The Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times**, recalling earlier praise in the press for the "new kind of labor statesmanship" symbolized by Dave Beck, a Republican, and McDonald, said of Rarick's vote: ". . . an astounding performance as union elections go . . . It doesn't appear that the 'new labor statesmen' are going to replace anyone. They will be lucky to hold what they have."

**THE FIGHT GOES ON:** A McDonald local in Ohio has now adopted a resolution calling for Rarick's expulsion as a "union-busting individual without scruples who is taking advantage of our democratic union and his membership strictly for personal gain." Conceivably, the administration could use this as the basis for reprisal against the Rarick forces.

But Rarick is continuing the fight and his attorney has announced that he will start action to determine if union funds were used to pay for the full-page newspaper ads, radio and TV time in behalf of McDonald. He also will appeal an Allegheny County court decision ruling one Rarick candidate off the ballot. Rarick himself has charged that ballots were thrown out by tellers in some 52 locals.

Rarick says his Dues Protest Committee will stay in business with this four-point program: (1) Reduction of dues from the present $5; (2) new elections in those districts where some members were kept off the ballot; (3) establishment of an ethical practices committee to "stamp out corruption and tyranny"; (4) a constitutional amendment granting the right of all candidates to be present in person or by representatives when the votes are counted.

**A MAN OF SILK:** Whatever happens, McDonald's prestige is now at such a low level that some business journals are speculating on what effect it might have in future negotiations with the tough steel industry. Others see Rarick—6 feet, 4 inches, 250 pounds and a millworker all his life—as nearer the steelworkers' notion of a union leader than the elegant McDonald who inherited the leadership.

Although McDonald has authorized a biography of himself titled "Man of Steel," a recent **N.Y. Times** profile described him as rather "a man of silk." His only mill experience was for a short period as a machinist's helper in his youth. He thereafter became a typist and switchboard operator and became a private secretary to Phil Murray in 1923. When the Steel Workers Organizing Committe was formed in 1936, Murray appointed him as secretary-treasurer. When Murray died in 1952, McDonald simply took over. How long he can last is now debatable.

Drawing by Fred Wright

**"Here, take it—but make sure it doesn't work on company time."**

## Heads or tails?

BEAUMONT, Tex.—A new high in employer self-esteem was registered when L. C. McManus, president of the Southern Iron & Metal Co., announced that he had insured his brain for $100,000 with Lloyd's of London. A union official promptly decided that if McManus could grab off free publicity with such a gimmick, labor could do the same.

"If McManus can insure his head we ought to be able to insure our tails," said the labor leader. "They're an invaluable asset," he explained, "because employers like McManus make us spend so much of our time sitting down at the grievance table."

—Wisconsin **CIO News**, 2/22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### Long view

PUEBLO, COLO.

Our commercial press prominently features such stories as the one of the Hungarian who said "I would rather be a Negro in America than a Hungarian in Hungary!" Seems as if the American people are being prepared for the inevitable day when, meekly and "patriotically," their built-in answer to socialism must be: "Yes, their standard of living is higher, but we are 'free'!" **Paul Stewart**


The Frightened Giant
A NEW BOOK
By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

THE 236 PAGES of our Editor-in-Exile's warm recollections of the America of the GUARDIAN's years are crammed with memories that are yours, too, and you will rejoice to relive them with him. In his chapter on the Rosenberg-Sobell Case, "My Sister, My Brother,"—perhaps the book's most moving—he writes thus about the two martyrs:

"When I thought of Ethel and Julius as 'communists'—the label that had to be pinned to them, although nothing as to their affiliation was ever established at the trial—one reflection was automatic: that if indeed they were members of it, then the American Communist Party was thereby ennobled If they were, they took their place with many other communist men and women to whom humanity was in debt, who in my time had shown the greatest love, that they had laid down their lives for their friends."

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We just read an anthology of poems about Ethel and Julius Rosenberg by some of our finest poets. It is a book we think you ought to have to read, re-read and pass on to your children when they are old enough to understand what happened.

It is called simply, **THE ROSENBERGS** and is available only in a limited edition. It was compiled by Martha Millet.

An example of the content is the poem reprinted below by Alfred Kreymborg, former President of the Poetry Society of America.

## THAT AFTERNOON

**By Alfred Kreymborg**

*On the way to the newsstand that afternoon*
*I found four small boys on my stoop.*
*They looked so forlorn I had to stop,—*
*"What's the matter?"*

*"We lost our ball," said one.*
*The second: "It went through that open window."*
*The third: "The lady slammed the window,*
*Kept the ball." And the fourth:*
*"Would you buy us a new one, mister?"*
*"What does it cost?"*
*"Only a quarter," the quartet sang*
*And four pairs of eyes sought mine.*

*The lad I was in memory said "All right,"*
*They followed me to the stationery store.*
*There my eyes were stopped by the glaring line:*
*THE ROSENBERGS WILL DIE TONIGHT!*

*Said one of the boys gravely:*
*"Gee I'm glad I'm not one of their kids!"*
*I bought the promised ball and all four*
*Shavers were overjoyed. And playing again, playing . . .*

Other poets represented are George Abbe, W. E. B. Du Bois, Mike Gold, Eve Merriam and Helen Sobell. THE ROSENBERGS sells for $3. If you are in New York, please pick up a copy at our store. We will also fill mail orders: just send $3 and we will pay the postage.

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## Short story contest by Venture magazine

A FIRST short story contest has been announced by **Venture** magazine, a literary quarterly entering its third year of publication. A prize of $150 will be awarded for the best short story published in **Venture** in its next publication year.

Four of America's most distinguished writers and critics—Conrad Aiken, Kay Boyle, Maxwell Geismar and Waldo Frank—will be judges. The contest is open to students; high-level stories of a serious, non-commercial nature are especially sought. Any story published in **Venture** automatically becomes eligible.

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# CALENDAR

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labor journalist, Worker correspondent, and veteran Communist
Saturday, May 11th, 7:30 p.m.
Nowak Hall, 5703 Chene Street
Tickets $1.50 at The Worker, 2419 West Grand River Av., Detroit 1. WO 4-1965

### Los Angeles

**SIXTH ANNUAL ARTS FESTIVAL**
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on
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**A. J. MUSTE,** editor of "Liberation"
**FARRELL DOBBS,** national secretary Socialist Workers Party
**JOHN GATES,** editor of "Daily Worker"
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**Brighton Community Center**
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### Blot out the sun

TITUSVILLE, FLA.

I left Hungary in 1903 and Hungary was no democratic nation then. I was in Hungary again in 1928 under the bourgeois regime of Horthy. It was a very pitiful sight, misery all over. But the rich and well-to-do of the world did not start a revolution at that ime.

We are living in a phony world. As soon as the sun starts to shine for the poor, the rich send right away the soldiers with the guns. In Hungary it was not the Communists who started the October rebellion; it was the reactionary elements, supplied with arms and money by the rich of the outside world.

**Stephan Martinchek**

### Ode to freedom

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

We have the strangest leaders,
You never saw the like—
Of blundering Mr. Dulles. . .
And Ezra, Nick and Ike.
They raise our taxes yearly,
Higher than a giraffe's neck;
Then pour our money down
the drain,
On some old Chiang Kai-shek.

The war crowd owns the
papers,
The TV and radio;
And they only tell the people,
What they wish for them to
know.
So all take heed of the great
need
To clean up such a mess;
By building GUARDIAN
circulation
And supporting freedom's
press.

**Adam Farmer**

## BOOKS

# The un-Americans

SOME WEEKS BACK I went to see a performance of Sean O'Casey's **Purple Dust** and, because I read the play beforehand, I caught the change of a word. In the course of an impassioned speech in the original, the hero O'Killigain says: "Why do you think I fought in Spain?" In the performance he says: "Why do you think I fought in the war?" At first I regarded this as a squeamish political change, but when I thought about it a bit and looked around at the number of people in the audience who may not have been 10 years old at the time of "Spain"—and my daughter beside me not then even born —I changed my mind. Yet I had a mental picture of Sean himself saying, as well he might: "It is a sad thing today that you have to explain Spain."

How do you explain to the reader in 1957 a passion that marked almost a whole generation? The ones who went to Spain from all over the world to fight for the Republic have been trying to explain for 20 years. Even those who could not write well were understood; those who could write have produced books that are everlasting.

**FINE STORY-TELLER:** In this latter category is Alvah Bessie, who went to Spain and served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. His **Men in Battle** is a gripping story of the Brigade; his anthology **The Heart of Spain** is the best collection of its kind. And now, in **The un-Americans***, he has written a new novel which in 1957 explains Spain by relating it to the Time of the Toad in America.

Alvah Bessie is one of the best story-tellers writing today. His new novel is the kind of a book—if I may for once be forgiven a well-thumbed cliché—you simply won't want to put it down. It is essentially the story of two men in battle, as they find out, with themselves. One loses and slobbers off to a life of self-pitying horror; the other wins, and we leave him to the painful task of discovering himself as a whole person.

The loser is Francis Xavier Lang, well-known writer, a handsome, polished sentimentalist for whom Spain was a vast emotional binge; a charming and likeable man, capable and vain, miserable in his non-fulfillment but unable to examine himself past the brandy bottle. He took Spain home and made a mess of it because he was a mess himself.

The winner is Ben Blau, a newspaperman who quit his job in Spain to join the Brigade; a homely, earnest, self-deprecating man, so much involved with the Cause in the larger sense that he could not understand that the ones closest to him were a part of his cause, that they needed cherishing too, even as he himself did.

**TEN FULL YEARS:** The novel covers ten years—1938 to 1948—with skillful flashbacks to Spain and World War II in Europe, interwoven with the story of the involvement of the two men with the Un-American Activities Committee and with the larger question of what they wanted out of life. The book draws the two together in Spain, separates them, then brings them together again in the ultimate test of self-respect in the battle for the American Republic as the Cold War took shape.

Mingled with the fictional characters (in whom you will recognize pieces of famous figures) are real-life ones: people like Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionara), the heroes of the Brigade, the surgeon Edward K. Barsky, who would be a legendary figure if he were not so insistently a participant today, and many others. The narrative never flags, the dialogue is always spare and never phony or obscure (I wish, though, that Bessie had spared us some of his Spanish, which does not always come through for the reader).

**ONE PERSON IN TWO:** Brilliant as the whole canvas is, I found the Spanish sections more convincing than the American ones. In Spain, Bessie's people come alive against a pulsing background; in America, they are locked within themselves, and the world around them is not much there. Perhaps that is why the figure of Lang is so much more successful than Blau. We knows Lang's circumscribed world—in both countries—and the tortuous net he is drawing about himself; we never really know what holds Blau to the Communist Party or for that matter what the Communist Party itself was doing.

The Communists in the book remain amorphous and move in what sometimes seems a world of unreality. Perhaps they **were** to some extent moving in such a world, and that is why Blau was not able to see for so long that he was splitting himself into two persons—one an ideological entity, the other a flesh-and-blood figure with human instincts relegated to the background. He says, in the end, that he knows he is now a whole, integrated person; but it would take another novel to convince this reader. I hope Bessie will undertake that novel because he seems to have absorbed the lessons of the decades that followed "Spain" even as he was one of the first victims of their intolerance.

**ABOUT THE WOMEN:** And the women of the novel? They are outlines rather than full characters. Some day a progressive American novelist is really going to overcome this man's world and write about real live women, rather than noble but pale shadows. This book doesn't do it, although it takes a major step by conceding that women are far more sensible and tractable than men.

Having done with these beefs, I would urge all of you within eyeshot to get hold of **The un-Americans** and close yourself off with it the moment you get it. If you are of a generation that was marked by "Spain," and the decade that followed, it will be a tremendously meaningful reliving for you; if you are not, it will help explain many things to you—and perhaps make you more tolerant toward those of us for whom "Spain" has meant so much.

**—James Aronson**

* *THE un-AMERICANS by Alvah Bessie, Cameron Associates, 100 W. 23d St., New York 11, N. Y. 383 pp. $4.75. A Liberty Book Club selection for May. For information about membership write Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23d St., New York 11, N. Y.*

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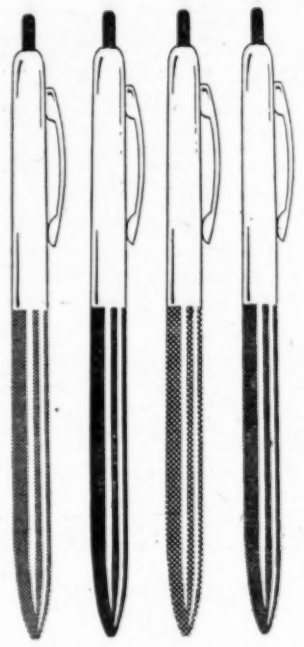

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*Dear Bible Belt Brethern:*

Since our earliest recollection it has been our burning desire to make some small contribution to the society in which we live. From our scholarly studies we have learned of the Scotch-Irish influence on the King James translation of the Holy Bible. Thus, many of the words appearing therein are those of man, not of God.

Our aim is to set right this wrong. That, we feel, is our sacred duty.

Exodus, the second Book of the Bible, clearly states that Moses, during the big chase, crossed the RED sea! That, you must agree, is not good. We have decided, therefore, to exclude the entire number of Books which compose that part of the Holy Word known as the Old Testament. That fellow Moses may well have been a subversive of some sort, and it is not good that the young minds of our land be exposed to any person having crossed the RED sea.

Rather than to be misled in our translation of the New Testament we decided to work on it in part, or on excerpts from various Books, instead of beginning with Matthew 1:1.

**In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. John 1:1**

Into Dixiecrat, clearly, that should read:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was spake by "Our Gem", and having spake, there ' oomed forth the Cotton and Magnolia over Dixieland. (Let there be no question as to who did the speaking.)

**But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Suffer little children to come unto me . . . Luke 18:16**

But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Suffer little WHITE children to come unto me . . . Dixiecrat Luke 18:16

**And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves. Luke 22:17**

And he took the DIXIE CUPS, and gave thanks that they were SEPARATE BUT EQUAL, and said, Take this MINT JULEP and divide it among yourselves. Dixiecrat Luke 22:17

**For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son . . . John 3:16**

For God so loved Mississippi that He gave it "Our Gem" . . . Dixiecrat John 3:16

**And he arose and went: and, behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot read Esaias the prophet. Then the Spirit said unto Phillip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot . . . And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, See, here is water: what doth hinder me to be baptized? . . . And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they went down both into the water . . . Acts 8:27-28-29-36-38**

And he arose and went: and, behold, a man of color, who worked for Candace queen of the Ethiopians, was driving her chariot down the road. And the Spirit said unto Phillip, Go near, sit in the **Back seat** of this chariot . . . And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water: and the colored man said, See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized? . . . And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they Segregated the swimming pool with a chain across it and they both went down into the water . . . separate but equal.

The above, clearly, was one of the most difficult passages to translate. Here, according to the King James translation, was integrated riding and swimming, so naturally the original translation had to be corrected, but good!

The scholarly work required on the translation is tiring. As we progress, reports will be made to you. So, until our next report, we remain in Blazing Glory,

**Lucifer**

*(Reprinted from The Petal Paper, Petal, Miss.)*

## Guardian Spring Frolic

**SUNDAY, MAY 26, 7:30 P.M.**

**Brunswick Room, Andrews Hotel, Minneapolis**

## KUMAR GOSHAL

*will speak on*

***The News Behind the News***

✦

**Entertainment featuring MALVINA REYNOLDS**

Refreshments 60c